

very important safety bill. We are talking about the lives of our citizens. This is a serious issue. That is why I intend to come to the floor again and ask that we move the bill. I hope those Senators who object will come forward and state their objections or remove their so-called holds on the bill.

CONFERENCE REPORT FOR ENERGY AND WATER APPROPRIATIONS FOR FISCAL YEAR 2001

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, this year's energy and water appropriations bill is very critical, particularly at a time when our Nation is facing rising gas and energy prices, national security disasters at federal facilities, and massive backlogs to complete multimillion projects for water infrastructure. That is why I am utterly disappointed that the final agreement for this bill blatantly disregards these national priorities in favor of special interests giveaways.

Mr. President, approving the annual budget is among our most serious responsibilities. We are the trustees of billions of taxpayer dollars, and we should evaluate every spending decision with great deliberation and without prejudice.

Unfortunately, each year, I am constantly amazed how the appropriators find new ways to violate budget policy. Appropriators have employed every sidestepping method in the book to circumvent Senate rules and common budget principles that are supposed to strictly guide the appropriations process. The excessive fodder and trickery have never been greater, resulting in the shameless waste of millions of taxpayer dollars. This final report is no exception.

This year's final agreement for the energy and water appropriations bill is only a minor reflection of the previous Senate-passed bill.

A grand total of \$1.2 billion is added in pork-barrel spending, a figure that is three times the amount from the Senate-passed bill and about \$400 million more than the amount of last year's total. I have twenty-one pages of pork-barrel spending found in this report.

An additional \$214 million is provided for designated "emergency" spending.

The latest epidemic here as we approach the appropriations issue, in order to avoid any budget restraints that may be remaining—and there are few—is the designation of "emergency spending."

Explicit directives are included for favorable consideration of special interest projects; and more than 30 policy riders are added in to conveniently sidestep a fair and deliberative legislative review.

I rise today to tell my colleagues that I object.

I object to the \$1.2 billion in directed earmarks for special interest projects in this bill. I object to sidestepping the legislative process by attaching erroneous riders to an appropriations bill. I

object to speeding through appropriations bills without adequate review by all Members. I object to the callous fashion which we disregard our national interests in favor of pet projects.

Some of my colleagues have said that the pork doesn't really matter much in these spending bills because it's not a lot of money. But, Mr. President, adding billions more in pork barrel spending is a lot of money to me and to the millions of American taxpayers who are footing the bill for this spending free-for-all.

While America's attention has been focused on the Olympic games in Sydney, Australia, our constituents back home may be interested to know that a gold medal performance is taking place in their own government. If gold medals were awarded for pork-barrel spending, then the budget negotiators would all be gleaming in gold from their award-winning spending spree.

However, I doubt many Americans would be appreciative if they knew that this spending spree will be at their expense with money that should be set aside to provide tax relief to American families, shore up Social Security and Medicare, or pay down the federal debt.

The figures speak for themselves. Again, this year's grand pork total is close to \$400 million more than the amount from last year's bill and more than three times the amount included in the recent Senate passed bill.

Unless I am grievously mistaken, I was under the distinct and very clear understanding that the purpose of Senate-House appropriations conferences are to resolve differences only between the two versions and make tough decisions to determine what stays in the final agreement. As a rule, no new spending could be added.

The rules are flung out the window once again. The overall total budget for this year's conference agreement has been fattened up by as much as \$2 billion more than the House bill, and about a billion more than both the amount included in the Senate-passed bill and the amount requested by the administration.

Let me give this to you straight. You have a certain amount passed by the Senate and a certain amount by the House. They are supposed to go to conference and reconcile their differences. Instead of that, we add billions of dollars in conference, and neither Senate nor House Members, nor members of the Appropriations Committee have a voice or a vote. That is disgraceful—disgraceful.

Each year, appropriators employ new spending tricks to avoid sticking to allocations in the budget resolution. It has become quite clear that these closed-door conferences, which no other Member can participate in or have any voting privileges, is simply another opportunity for members to take another trip to the trough to add in millions previously unconsidered for individual member projects.

What was described earlier in the Senate this year as a "modest" bill has

now become a largesse take-home prize for many Members. Numerous earmarks are provided for such projects that, while on its own merit may not be objectionable, were not included in the budget request or tacked on without any review by either the Senate or the House.

For example, within this final agreement, nearly 250 earmarks are added for individual Army Corps projects which are clearly not included in the budget request, and, more than 150 Army Corps projects were given additional amounts about the budget request.

The inconsistency between the administration's request, which is responsible for carrying out these projects, and the views of the appropriators on just how much funding should be dedicated to a project, is troubling. As a result, various other projects that may be equally deserving or higher in priority do not receive an appropriate amount of funding, or none at all.

This year's budget for Army Corps has been inflated to \$4.5 billion in funding for local projects. Yet, we have no way of knowing whether, at best, all or part of this \$4.5 billion should have been spent on different projects with greater national need or, at worst, should not have been spent at all. There's no doubt we should end the practice of earmarking projects for funding based on political clout and focus our resources in a more practical way, instead, on those areas with the greatest need nation-wide.

Other earmarks are rampant in this bill that appear that are clearly demonstrative of wasteful spending at the expense of taxpayers:

An earmark of \$20 million was added in during conference, without previous consideration by either the House or Senate, for an unauthorized project in California, the CALFED Bay-Delta restoration project. Certainly, I have no objections to restoring the ecological health of the Bay Delta area, however, any amount of funding for unauthorized projects flies in the face of comments by the managers who pledged not to fund unauthorized projects.

Also, \$400,000 is earmarked for aquatic weed control in Lake Champlain, Vermont. This particular earmark has resurfaced in appropriations bills for at least the past three years and it appears a bit preposterous that we continually fund a project such as this on an annual basis which has nebulous impacts on our nation's energy and security needs.

An earmark of \$800,000 is provided to continue work on "a detailed project report" for a project in Buchanan County, Virginia. Government spending is truly getting out of control if nearly a million dollars is necessary simply to compile a report.

Another earmark of \$250,000 is included for a "study" of drainage problems in the Winchester, Kentucky area. Granted, I do not object to trying to fix any water problems facing any local

community, but is a quarter of a million really necessary to only study the problem and not fix it?

More padded spending includes \$150,000 to determine what the "federal interest" is for a project in southeastern Pennsylvania. Why is \$150,000 necessary to determine if the federal government should care about a specific project? Dozens of earmarks like this one, in the hundreds of thousands each, are riddled throughout this conference report without any explanation as to why such high amounts of funding are justifiable.

Among the worst pork in this bill are earmarks that will benefit the ethanol industry, a fiscal boondoggle industry that already reaps substantial benefits from existing federal subsidies at the expense of taxpayers. It is a blatant insult to taxpayers to ask them to supplement the ethanol industry even more by spending \$600,000 for ethanol production at the University of Louisville, and \$2,000,000 for the design and construction of a demonstration facility for regional biomass ethanol manufacturing in southeast Alaska.

My colleagues will note that each of these earmarks have a specific geographic location or institution associated with them. Is there another organization besides the one proposed in southeast Alaska that could design and construct a demonstration facility for regional biomass ethanol manufacturing?

A similar earmark of \$2 million is included for this specific Alaskan ethanol manufacturing facility in the Interior appropriations bill this year. So they have \$4 million for one specific spot without any authorization and without any discussion.

There is \$4.5 million for the removal of aquatic growth in Florida, which is about \$1.2 million higher than the budget request;

An additional \$250,000 for the Texas Investigations Program, for which no explanation is provided as to what constitutes an "investigations" program;

\$2,000,000 for the multi-year demonstration of an underground mining locomotive and an earth loader powered by hydrogen in Nevada;

And, \$3,000,000 to establish a program the University of Nevada-Las Vegas for Department-wide management of electronic records.

Get this, all of my colleagues who have a college or university in their State: \$3 million at the University of Nevada Las Vegas for department-wide management of electronic records;

\$2,000,000 for the Discovery Science Center in Orange County, California;

\$2,000,000 for the Livingston Digital Millennium Center at Tulane University; and

\$2,000,000 for modernization upgrades at the University of South Carolina.

How are any of these earmarks directly related to the national security and energy interests of our nation?

Also, the tactic of using the "emergency funding" stigma returns strong-

ly in this bill. I am very disappointed to see that the Appalachian Regional Commission will not only be funded again this year, but it is also the recipient of an "emergency appropriation" of \$11 million.

My dear friends, the Appalachian Commission was established as a temporary commission in 1965. Somehow this year it needs to be the recipient of \$11 million for "emergency appropriations." My curiosity is aroused as to what the emergency is at the Appalachian Regional Commission. This commission was established as a temporary commission in 1965, but has managed to hook itself into the annual appropriations spending spree to extend its so-called temporary life to 35 years. This program singles out one region for special economic development grants when the rest of the nation has to rely on their share of community development block grant and loans.

Certainly, the Appalachian region does not have a monopoly on poor, depressed communities in need of assistance. I know that in my own state, despite the high standard of living enjoyed in many areas, some communities are extremely poor and have long been without running water or sanitation. It would be more cost-beneficial to provide direct assistance to impacted communities, again based on national priority, rather than spending millions each year for a commission which may have outlived its purpose.

Again, I remind my colleagues that I do not object to these projects based on their merit nor do I intend to belittle the importance of specific projects to local communities. However, it is no surprise that many of these earmarks are included for political glamour rather than practical purposes. Members can go back to their districts to rally in public parades, trying to win favor by bringing home the bacon.

The House of Representatives passed this conference report last Friday by a majority margin, despite the fact that most of the voting Members did not have adequate time, if any at all, to review the contents of this report. This is another appalling demonstration to the American public of the egregious violation of one of our most sacred duties—ensuring the proper use of taxpayer dollars. How can we make sound policy and budget decisions with this type of budget steam-rolling?

I know I speak for many hardworking Americans when I express my hope for reform in the way the Congress conducts the business of the people so that we might reclaim the faith and confidence of those we are sworn to serve. Yet, we are mired in another yearly ritual of budget chaos. Sadly, the only message that we send to the American public is that our budgetary process is at an all-time low.

Unfortunately, this may be only a foreboding of what is to come at this end of year final budget negotiations. The end-of-year rush to complete the fiscal year 2001 budget is outpaced only

by the rush to drain the taxpayers' pockets and deplete the budget surplus.

At the end of the day, special interests win and the taxpayers lose. It's a broken record that the American people are tired of listening to.

I will vote against this bill and any other appropriations bill that so flagrantly disregards our fiscal responsibility and violates the trust of the American people.

Today's Wall Street Journal article by David Rogers is a very enlightening one, in case some of my colleagues and friends have not read it.

In the scramble to wrap up budget negotiations, Congress could overshoot the Republicans' spending target for this fiscal year by \$35 billion to \$45 billion.

The willingness to spend reflects a new synergy between President Clinton, eager to cement his legacy, and the GOP leadership, increasingly worried about losing seats in November and more disposed to use government dollars to shore up candidates. While the largest increases are in areas popular with voters—education, medical and science research, land conservation, veterans' care and the military—the bargaining invites pork-barrel politics on a grand scale, with top Republicans leading the way.

Just this weekend, for example, a bidding war escalated over highway and transit projects that are part of the transportation budget to be negotiated this week. House Speaker Dennis Hastert of Illinois opened the door by asking to add legislative language to expedite the distribution of about \$850 million for Chicago-area transit projects. While the Hastert amendment wouldn't add directly to next year's costs, it became an excuse for others to pile on.

The Virginia delegation jumped in early, winning the promise of \$600 million to help pay for a bridge over the Potomac River. By late Friday night, dozens of projects for both political parties were being added. House Transportation Committee Chairman Bud Shuster laid claim to millions for his home state of Pennsylvania. Mississippi, home of Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott, is in the running for funds in the range of \$100 million. In all, the price tag for the extras tops \$1.6 billion.

The whole enterprise, which could yet collapse under its own weight, dramatizes a breakdown in discipline in these last weeks before the November elections. In the spring, the GOP set a spending cap of \$600 billion for the fiscal year that began yesterday—a number that was never considered realistic politically.

After devoting long summer nights to debating cuts from Mr. Clinton's \$626 billion budget, Republicans will end up appropriating significantly more than that. If total appropriations rise to between \$635 billion and \$645 billion or even higher, as the numbers indicate, the ripple effect will pare surplus estimates by hundreds of billions of dollars over the next 10 years.

I cannot overemphasize the importance of this. We have the rosy scenario of a multitrillion dollar surplus in the years ahead, and if we keep spending this kind of money, everybody knows that the surplus will disappear. There is an open and honest debate as to whether we should have tax cuts or whether we should save Social Security, Medicare, or pay down the debt. We are not going to be able to do any of it if we are spending this kind of money. I was told by a Member not

long ago that if we agree to what is presently the overspending in this budget, it could mean as much as \$430 billion out of the surplus in the next few years.

Both an \$18.9 billion natural-resources bill and a \$23.6 billion measure that funds energy and water programs are expected to be sent to the White House, and the transportation bill soon could follow. The Republican leadership believes it has reached a compromise to free up the measure funding the Treasury and the operations of the White House and Capitol.

That still leaves the heart of the domestic budget—massive bills funding education, health, housing and environmental programs. Negotiations on those bills are hovering near or even above the president's spending requests.

The natural-resources bill agreed to last week illustrates the steady cost escalation: The \$18.9 billion price tag is about \$4 billion over the bill passed by the House in June.

In a landmark commitment to conservation, the legislation would devote as much as \$12 billion during the next six years, mainly to buy lands and wildlife habitat threatened by development. As the annual commitment grows from \$1.6 billion to \$2.4 billion in 2006, more and more dollars would go for sorely needed maintenance work in the nation's parks.

Regarding the national parks, that is something with which I don't disagree.

I have suggested from time to time when my colleagues say there is nothing we can do because the President has the leverage over us in order to shut down the Government for which we would get the blame, if just once, with one appropriations bill, just one, we could send to the President a bill that doesn't have a single earmark, have a single legislative rider on it, then we would go into negotiations of the issue with the President with clean hands. When we add billions in pork barrel spending on our appropriations bills and then go into negotiations with the President, there is no difference except in priorities. It is wrong.

I have been spending a lot of time campaigning around the country for candidates for the House and for the Senate, and for our candidate for President, my party's candidate for President and Vice President of the United States. I can tell my colleagues, clearly the American people have it figured out. They don't like it. They want this practice to stop. They want us to fulfill a promise we made in 1994 when we asked them and they gave us the majorities in both Houses of Congress.

Mr. President, this appropriations pork barreling has got to stop. I intend to come to the floor with every bill, and if it keeps on, I will then take additional measures. We all know what is coming up: The train wreck. If it is as much as \$45 billion more than our original \$600 billion spending cap, I am not sure how such action is justified.

I yield the floor.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

NATIONAL ENERGY SECURITY ACT OF 2000—MOTION TO PROCEED—Resumed

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the motion to proceed.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 2557) to protect the energy security of the United States and decrease America's dependence on the foreign oil source to 50 percent by the year 2010 by enhancing the use of renewable energy resources, conserving energy resources, improving energy efficiencies, and increasing domestic energy supplies, mitigating the effect of increases in energy prices on the American consumer, including the poor and the elderly, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Idaho.

Mr. CRAIG. Has there been a time agreement on the legislation just proposed?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. We have until 5:30 when we have a scheduled vote on another matter.

Mr. CRAIG. Mr. President, I will consume up to 15 minutes of time in relation to the energy issue.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is recognized.

Mr. CRAIG. Mr. President, I came to the floor to speak on this important issue before the Senate and to talk once again to my colleagues about what I believe to be the dark cloud of a national emergency. The American consumer has begun to detect a problem because the price of gasoline at the pump has gone up 25 or 30 percent in the last year. When they begin to pay their home heating bills this winter, I think they will recognize where the problem lies.

We have had the President and the Vice President trying to position themselves politically over the last month and a half on energy because of the spike in prices, but frankly they have articulated little. Now just in the last week we have had the Vice President present an energy policy for the country, and we have had Governor George Bush talking about an energy policy that he would propose.

Here is why these things are happening. Finally, I hope, the American people are beginning to focus on the very critical state of the availability of energy in this country, to run the economy, to make the country work, turn the lights on, move our cars, and do all that it takes to run an economy based on a heavy use of energy.

We are now importing between 56 to 58 percent of our crude oil needs. Some will remember that during the era of the oil embargo of the mid-1970s we were only importing 35 percent of our needs. Even at that time there were gas lines and fighting at the gas pumps because American consumers were frustrated over the cost of gas. What I am saying, America, is we no longer control our energy availability, our energy supplies, our energy needs.

Is it any wonder why prices have more than tripled in the last 2 years

from a low of about \$11 per barrel of crude oil to a high late last month of \$38? The reason is somebody else is setting the price by creating either a scarcity of supply or by the appearance that there would be a scarcity of supply. It is not American producers controlling prices and supply, it is foreign producer countries.

The items we do control in the marketplace are demand and supplies we might be able to produce from our own resources. Natural was selling for \$2 per 1,000 cubic feet last year, just a year ago, and on Friday of last week natural gas was selling for \$5.20 for every 1,000 cubic feet. That is better than a doubling of that price.

As winter approaches, Americans likely will face the highest energy prices ever. Let me say that again. As the winter approaches, Americans are going to awaken to the highest energy prices they have ever paid. If the winter is colder than usual, energy prices will be even higher.

Electricity prices will move right along with gas and oil because many of the electrical-generating facilities of our country are fueled by natural gas. While petroleum and natural gas supplies appear to be adequate, no one can doubt that the supply and demand for crude oil, natural gas, and other energy sources is very tight, resulting in increased prices for these commodities. While many observers believe supplies of oil and natural gas will be sufficient to meet our needs in the coming months, I am concerned these important resources will likely remain in very short supply and, therefore, will be very costly to the American consumer.

I believe, and I mean this most sincerely, as a member of the Senate Energy Committee who for the last 10 years has tried to move policy and has seen this administration either say "no" by the veto or "no" by the budget, I sincerely believe the Clinton-Gore administration, by its failure to produce a national energy policy, is risking a slowdown, perhaps even a downturn, in this economy.

Some expect energy prices to remain high throughout the first quarter of 2001, above \$30 a barrel for oil and as high as \$4 per thousand cubic feet for natural gas. If this is true and that cost ripples through the economy, then they—and by "they" I mean the Clinton administration—are truly risking a slowdown in the economy. This means Americans will be paying more than \$1.50 per gallon of gas and perhaps twice as much as they paid for residential natural gas use last year. Driving, heating homes, providing services and manufacturing goods will be much, much more expensive under this new high-cost energy economy.

It is not only the price at the pump you worry about anymore; it is the plastics; it is the supply of goods; it is everything within our economy that is made of the hydrocarbons that will go up in price. Since energy costs are